/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 /I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the west-
114 ern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa.
Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the
• 824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high
places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart
[856] wawal, something like "the tree of speech." They administer
122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent
a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the
Seksawa.

123 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of
124 questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to
me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts
composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La
Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance,
by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judi-
cial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge
deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with
many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps
they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief
and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily
united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Al-
though it does not claim the authority of any of those who have
read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly
benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I
could not say whether it has always profited from them as much
as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the grati-
tude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority
of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to ad-
vise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to
face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt
to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier.

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[241]
[824]

/22 cont./ But here and there they are interrupted by cultivated clearings, which seem to seek the highest brows, as above Lalla Aziza. From below, the rugose green of the forest seems to have been pierced by these areas, as though polished by a finger. The tier is essentially that of the holm oak, Quercus ilex, ehl. /Shluh/ tasaft, sought for its wood and its fruit. It is the classical tree par excellence: the veritable forest "fond de teint" /color base/ of the mountain. Toward Tabgurt it climbs up to 2,800 meters and there constitutes, a fact unique in Morocco, the upper limit of the forest. Another characteristic tree, the juniper, tiqqi. It is the oxycedrus that is represented here. Its dark needles, never dense, stud the grove of oaks. Elsewhere, the thurifer /incense bearer/ reaches 3,150 meters. In Seksawa, it does not perform this role of greater margin of altitude.

The great mass of trees stops short above Inraren Z'dinin in a border of visible deforestation, which seems to have been at the expense of the thuriferous juniper. More to the S., the North reverses of the folds dominating the valleys of Wanchkrir and Usikis on one hand, /23/ of Assttif on the other (Tizi n-Tkchchudin), offer more important, but isolated timbering. The denudation of the Tabgurt slopes is striking. All this tier is that of pasturage. The factors that have played a role here are contradictory. On one hand, the drying influence of increased ventilation and insolation; on the other, concentration of humidity in places originating from an abundant snow-covering: pools, oozings, wet az'mu meadows are frequent. The most remarkable az'mu is found at the summit of the Tichka (2,600 meters). This is a famous pasture. The general tonality of the flowers of these highlands in their late spring (May, June) is yellow: aghozzir, uchfud, anâghud, amater, aloggo, some of which are genista. The spongy clumps of the ifessi waghad' hardly allow a periwinkle violet to appear (1).

1. Alyssum spinosum.

The subalpine tier, which is easy to study at the Tizi n'Tbgurt

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a
wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
Ufella.

137 Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
[133] gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
[133] Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of
the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[437] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[824] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instruc-
tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
there.

/164 cont./

241 237 343 When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain, punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual appurtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

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245 824 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect spontaneity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est oleis cultura..., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

245 233

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and laftf, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 784 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains [245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it [824] is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is con- [823] sidered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one, remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is alleged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces [585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a. H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths, but the celebration of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also [184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

/380 cont./

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/footnote 2 continued/ to which the customary codifications are consigned. The latter come to be designated under the name of "tables," without further allusion to the material of the instrument. Nevertheless this institution must be compared with the practice of the tabulae defixionis, in rites of spells in which the planchette, often covered with characters and wrapped in a shroud, is slipped into an old tomb.

[764]
[789]

The society that we are describing here knows only paper for what concerns the juridical acts.

[824]

The geographical area of the acts on wood (probably pistachio wood, igg) seems to have for its center the tribe of the Ilalen. In the Ilalen of the East approximately half of the acts are drawn up on wood, the other half being drawn up on paper. In the tribe of the Ilalen of the West the proportion of the acts on wood /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ seems to be a little smaller. In the limitrophe tribes one finds a variable proportion of acts on wood, but still very strong in the region of Timgilcht (Tafrawt) and Idaw Kensus (Igherm). In the Ammeln, for example, few acts on wood. They are no longer found, to my knowledge, at Anzi, Ifran, Bu Izakarn, or in the Haut Atlas, where paper has been generalized since the sixteenth century. The proportion of acts on wood seems hardly to have varied since an ancient period and to have remained fairly constant up to the establishment of the Tribunaux coutumiers.

is /381/ attested by all the old jurists of the South, who devote